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ABSTRACT

Examined were relations among maternal employment history, maternal role satisfaction, and early adolescent outcomes. It was hypothesized that variables related to mother's satisfaction would be more predictive of child's outcomes than the marker variable of employment status. Results indicated that early maternal employment status during the child's infancy and preschool years predicted achievement in grades 1 and 2, but maternal employment at any time during the child's life did not relate to achievement in early adolescence. The process marked by the maternal employment variable appeared to relate to amount of time spent out of the home. Mothers who worked more during these early years had children with lower grade point averages in the first two grades. As expected, satisfaction variables predicted more of the child achievement outcomes than employment history. Mothers who were less involved in household work and more involved in child care had children with higher IQ scores and self-rated scholastic competence in sixth grade. In addition, mothers who were satisfied with child care arrangements had children with higher grade point averages and self-rated scholastic competence in grade 6. Finally, mothers' experience of low role difficulty was related to their report of fewer problem behaviors in their children. (Author/RH)

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Maternal Employment, Maternal Role Satisfaction and Early Adolescent Outcomes

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Abstract

The purpose of this study was to examine the relations among maternal employment history, maternal role satisfaction, and early adolescent outcomes. It was hypothesized that variables related to the mother's satisfaction would be more predictive of the child's outcomes than the marker variable of "employment status."

Results indicated that early maternal employment status (during the child's infancy and preschool years) predicted achievement in Grades 1 and 2 but maternal employment at any time during the child's life did not relate to achievement in early adolescence. The process marked by the maternal employment variable appeared to relate to amount of time spent out of the home: Mothers who worked more during these early years had children with lower grade point averages in Grades 1 and 2. However, as expected, satisfaction variables predicted more of the child achievement outcomes than employment history. Mothers who were less involved in household work and more involved in child care had children with higher IQ scores and self-rated scholastic competence in sixth grade. In addition, mothers who were satisfied with child care arrangements had children with higher grade point averages and self-rated scholastic competence in grade 6. Finally, mothers experience of low role difficulty related to her report of fewer problem behaviors in her child.

These findings are discussed within a contextual framework—maternal employment status is only a marker for processes involved in the mother's interaction with her family as well as for other variables in the child's context—and that these maternal and contextual factors are what is marked by the variable of maternal employment. In addition, the notion that role satisfaction influences parent-child relations, which may, in turn, have an impact on the child's development, is discussed.

There is little need to chronicle the tremendous increase in maternal employment that has taken place in the United States over the past quarter of this century (Hayghe, 1986). The majority of mothers with children between the ages of 6 and 17 are employed outside of the home. Parallel to this increase in maternal employment has been the growth of scientific interest in this phenomenon, since maternal employment is presumed to affect the lives and development of children. Recent reviews of the effects of maternal employment highlight a good deal of inconsistency in the literature (Hoffman, 1974, 1979, 1980; Lamb, 1982; Lerner & Galambos, 1986). Despite these inconsistencies, many studies of adolescents have found that when mothers are employed outside the home their daughters are more outgoing, independent, and motivated. Daughters, as well as sons, show better personality and social adjustment. Moreover, when their mother is employed, both adolescent sons and daughters display fewer sex-role stereotypes and seem to gain self-esteem from the responsibilities they assume (Hoffman, 1979; Smokler, 1975). In general, the positive effects found for adolescents are stronger for daughters than for sons (Query & Kuruvilla, 1975).

However, despite the consistency in results which may exist in some domains within the larger literature, the findings across the literature as a whole have led both scientists and policy-makers to begin to suggest that the experience of maternal employment may not be the same for everyone at all points of life (Crouter, Belsky, & Spanier, 1984). Also, there is a realization that if the effects of maternal employment are to be understood, a differentiated analysis is required. That is, <u>which</u> variables mediate the effects of a mother's employment on her children? Since maternal employment <u>per se</u> does not have an invariant influence on a

child's development, which variables do determine the presence and size of a particular effect? In other words, maternal employment is best conceived of as a marker variable, one for which any effect which is found only raises the question of what mediating processes underlie the association of maternal employment to adolescent behavior.

The mediating process that has been most emphasized in recent years, and which is one focus of the present study, involves maternal role satisfaction. A number of studies have indicated that the employed mother is more satisfied with her life than the non-employed mother (Gold & Andres, 1978a, b; Hoffman, 1974). In addition, researchers have begun to realize the importance of maternal role satisfaction and the influence it has on child and adolescent development, and have examined its influence in samples of employed and non-employed mothers. Evidence suggests that mother's role satisfaction may be more important than actual employment status. Yarrow, Scott, de Leeuw, & Heinig (1962) reported that if mothers were in their preferred roles, they showed no differences in child-rearing. Therefore, it was role satisfaction rather than employment status, which contributed to positive interactions with their children. In addition, Hoffman (1963) showed that satisfied mothers who were employed were perceived by their children as displaying more positive affect and less severe discipline. Dissatisfied mothers, employed or not, perceived their children as more argumentative, and teachers reported these children as displaying assertive and sometimes hostile behavior in the classroom.

Following Yarrow et al (1962) and Hoffman (1963), the recent surge of interest in the literature on maternal role satisfaction supports the idea that a mother's satisfaction with her role, whether she is employed or not,

has positive effects on her children. In contrast, dissatisfaction is thought to be associated with negative effects on children. Among both elementary school children and adolescents, research findings show that when the mother's attitude about whether she should be employed or not matches her employment status, positive child outcomes result (Baruch, 1972; Gold & Andres, 1978b; Pearlman, 1981; Williamson, 1970; Woods, 1972). In addition, Lerner and Galambos (1985) found that satisfied mothers (mothers who were doing what they wanted to), employed or not, had more positive interactions with their children, and these children were better adjusted than children of dissatisfied mothers.

Research has also shown that satisfied employed mothers influence their daughters' role expectations. In a study using longitudinal data (D'Amico, Haurin, & Mott, 1983), when employed mothers said that they would work, even if they did not have to during their daughters' adolescence, they had daughters who, as young adults planned to work at the age of 35. Insofar as the mother's desire to work can be construed as indicative of maternal role satisfaction, greater maternal role satisfaction was related to stronger occupational aspirations in young adult females.

In sum, these findings converge in suggesting that maternal role satisfaction and attitudes may be linked more to child outcomes than is mother's employment status per se. Many researchers have begun to speculate about what underlying process may account for the positive child outcomes associated with the mother's role satisfaction and attitudes. Many writers suggest that role satisfaction and positive attitudes lead to positive parent-child relationships, which in turn, enhance child development.

In this regard, Lerner and Galambos (1985; 1986) have advanced a "process of influence" model which links maternal role satisfaction to

child outcomes through the mediator of mother-child interaction. In a test of a path model linking role satisfaction to mother-child interaction and mother-child interaction to child temperament with a sample of white, upper middle-class mothers and their children, Lerner and Galambos (1985) found that high levels of maternal role satisfaction were related to positive mother-child interactions, which were, in turn, related to better child adjustment.

In the present study involving a sample of early adolescents and their mothers, a portion of the Lerner and Galambos model could be tested. We did not have access to data on mother-adolescent interaction and therefore were unable to fully test the "process of influence" model. However, data were obtained for mother's role satisfaction and early adolescent outcomes. Thus, the influences of mother's role satisfaction on early adolescent outcomes was testable.

Many factors are involved in a mother's role satisfaction. These factors may be related to her home, work, or social situation. Indeed, the support a woman receives in these domains does influence her level of satisfaction with her role (Kamerman, 1980). Cobb (1976) and Kaplan, Cassel, and Gore (1977) report that supportive environments can reduce the experience of stress. The employed mother is faced by many demands and stresses today which could negatively influence her role satisfaction, her interactions with her child, and her child's subsequent development. Evaluating all the many sources of support which may influence role satisfaction is a complex task, and is beyond the purposes of this study. Therefore, this investigation will focus only on the support that a mother receives in the home (e.g., child care, supportive husband, housekeeping help).

The major concern for the employed mother of an early adolescent, in the domain of childcare, may be the supervision of the child after school, and the division of labor for such tasks as getting the child to and from after school activities. Employed or not, the mother who does not have to be solely responsible for these arrangements will most likely experience less role strain.

Similar to the demands associated with child care, the demands of managing household chores present some difficulties for women who are employed outside the home. Although the dual-career family is thought of as non-traditional, the division of labor in such households remains quite traditional. Mothers, employed or not, still do the majority of household chores and child care (Pleck, 1985). One of the options that some employed mothers can consider is the introduction into the home of regular, paid household help. Certainly, one may suggest that the employed woman who does have household help is less likely to experience role strain than the employed woman who must be entirely responsible for household duties.

Household workers may either work in the home part- or full-time (sometimes also caring for children), or may live in the home. Unfortunately, hiring a household worker may not be financially possible for most lower or middle-income families. Furthermore, those women who are single parents, and therefore have the most difficulty in balancing their work and family lives, are also likely to be engaged in low-paying occupations, thereby making it nearly impossible to afford a domestic worker. In fact, Vickery (1979) observed that most employed women, including those who are married, do not use their paychecks to provide market substitutes for the household chores that need to be done. Rather, "the working wife lengthens her work time in order to do the necessary

housework" (Vickery, 1979, p. 192). When the mother is responsible for the majority of household chores, it most likely decreases the amount of time that she has to spend with her children and thereby may also decrease her satisfaction level. On the other hand, the mother who has help with child care activities and housework is likely to experience less strain and more satisfaction, particularly when she is satisfied with the help she is getting. Therefore, when studying maternal role satisfaction and role strain it becomes important also to evaluate the influence of these home supports.

Specifically, the major focus of the present study was to investigate the influence of various aspects of the mother's situation (employment history, role satisfaction, role difficulty, satisfaction with child care and household help) on early adolescent adjustment (social, personal and scholastic competence, behavioral problems). In addition, factors which influenced the mothers' role difficulty and role satisfaction, such as the division of labor for child care and household chores, and her satisfaction with this division of labor were investigated.

Although the literature did not lead us to expect that maternal employment status would have a consistent, direct influence on the adolescent outcomes for the total sample (Crouter et al, 1984; Hoffman, 1963, 1974) it is nevertheless possible that the timing of maternal employment may affect adolescent outcomes—that is, adolescents whose mothers have worked since their early childhood may show psychosocial functioning which differs from adolescents whose mothers only enter the labor force during their adolescence. Therefore, one aim of this study was to investigate the relationship between maternal employment history and

adolescent outcomes. For the present sample, when mothers entered the workforce they tended to stay employed, so their employment status at each age is also a reflection of their length of employment.

In terms of role difficulty and role satisfaction, we hypothesized that when mothers reported high role satisfaction, their early adolescent children would display higher adjustment scores than the adolescents of mothers who had high levels of dissatisfaction. Similarly, high maternal role difficulty was predicted to relate to lower levels of adjustment in the adolescents. Low role difficulty was predicted to relate to positive outcomes for the adolescent.

METHOD

Sample

This study used a sample of approximately 152 early adolescents from The Pennsylvania Early Adolescent Transitions Study (PEATS), a short-term longitudinal study of early adolescents undergoing physical, psychological, social relationship, and school transitions. The study followed this group from the beginning of the sixth grade (September, 1984) to the end of the seventh grade (May, 1986). A core group of 101 early adolescents (56 boys, 45 girls) was tested at three times during their sixth grade year, in September 1984, and in January and May 1985, i.e., at periods separated by four months. In addition, retest control groups were added at the second (13 boys, 15 girls) and third (11 boys, 13 girls) times of testing (total N = 153).

Subjects were sampled from elementary schools within a large semi-rural school district in northwestern Pennsylvania. Over 94% of the sample was white, and 84.7% of the mothers were high school graduates and

9% had college degrees (6.3% did not have high school degrees). The data used in the present study were obtained from Time 3 of testing (May 1985), i.e., from the end of the sixth grade. Data on the maternal variables of interest in this study were not available prior to this time.

Measures

Mother's Life Situation Survey (MLSS). The MLSS is a closed-ended questionnaire developed by J. Lerner (1984). Based on recent reviews of the literature the important domains of the mother's employment and family situation were included in this survey. Items measured include the mother's employment history throughout the child's life, her educational status and job type, her role strain and role satisfaction, the division of labor for child care and housework, and her satisfaction with this division of labor. Mothers provided information on the following major areas:

a) their educational status;

b) their employment history with reference to age of their sixth grader (i.e., employment status when the sixth-grade adolescent in the study was less than 2 years old, 2-5 years, 5-10 years and after 10 years), and their current job type. Fifteen job type categories were chosen from The Dictionary of Occupational Titles (U.S. Department of Labor, 1977) based on what types of jobs were expected given the demographic characteristics of our sample (predominantly white, lower-middle class, semi-rural);

c. patterns of division of household chores and child care activities and their satisfaction with these arrangements;

d. role-difficulty experienced by them in balancing all their roles as wife, parent, employee, volunteer worker, etc.;
e. their degree of satisfaction with their role; and
f. their perception of their husband's degree of satisfaction with their role.

The mother's rating of division of labor for child care and household work were ranked so that higher scores indicated that the mother was responsible for more of the work. The satisfaction with her role and division of labor were rated on a five-point Likert-type scale with high scores indicating greater satisfaction. Perceived role difficulty was rated similarly, with increasing scores corresponding to an increase in experienced difficulty.

Early Adolescent Adjustment

Outcomes for the adolescent subjects were derived from four sources: their own self-ratings of perceived competence; teacher ratings of competence and school grades; parents' ratings of behavior; and objective measures of academic aptitude (i.e., IQ). These measures are described below.

The Harter Self-Perception Profile (SPP). The SPP was developed by Harter (1983) in order to assess competence and adequacy of psychosocial functioning. As noted, six general competence areas are assessed by the SPP: (1) Scholastic Competence, reflecting school or academic performance (SC); (2) Social Acceptance, emphasizing peer popularity (SA); (3) Athletic Competence, stressing ability at sports and outdoor games (AC); (4) Physical Appearance, assessing satisfaction with one's appearance (PA); (5) Conduct/Behavior, emphasizing behaving in accordance with rules for conduct (CB); and (6) Self-Worth, indexing feelings of worth or self-esteem independent of any particular skill domain (SW).

Each of these six domains are measured by six items, and the response format for each item is a "structured alternative" one (Harter, 1979). For example, a child is presented with the item "Some kids often forget what they learn, BUT, other kids can remember things easily," and is first asked to decide which kind of kid is most like him or her and is then asked whether this is only "sort of true" or "really true" for him or her. Each item is scored on a scale from "1" to "4," where a score of "1" indicates low perceived competence or adequacy and a score of "4" reflects high perceived competence or adequacy. Harter (1983) reports psychometric information regarding the SPP, for example, the reliability among sixth graders for the scholastic, social, athletic, physical appearance, conduct/behavior, and self-worth subscale are .80, .81, .82, .81, .77, and .83, respectively. Windle et al. (1986) found theoretically-predicted relations among adolescents between the four perceived competence scale attributes they studied, temperament scores as measured by the Dimensions of Temperament Survey-Revised (DOTS-R; Windle & Lerner, 1986), and scores on a standardized measure of depression (the CES-D; Radloff, 1977).

Teacher's Ratings of Adolescent Competence. To assess scholastic achievement or adequacy of performance, we used the Teacher's Behavior Rating Scale (TBRS) developed by Harter (1983) to correspond to the SPP Scale. Teachers rated the competency or adequacy of the child with regard to these five attributes: (1) the students' scholastic or academic competence (SC); (2) social acceptance in terms of peer popularity (SA); (3) athletic competence stressing ability in sports and indoor games (AC); (4) physical appearance (PA); and (5) conduct/behavior (CB). Again, the teachers' ratings of physical appearance were not used in the present study.

The TBRS contains 15 items, three for each of the five domains. Like the SPP, the response format for each item was a "structured alternative" one (Harter 1979). Each item was scored on a scale from "1" to "4" where a score of "1" indicates low perceived competence or adequacy and a score of "4" reflects high perceived competence or adequacy. Each of the five domain scores were calculated as the mean of three items.

The teachers were instructed to rate the children's actual behaviors in each area, and not how he/she thought the child would answer. The TBRS was designed to assess the teacher's independent judgment of the child's adequacy in each domain.

Within the PEATS the internal consistency (Cronbach alpha) reliabilities for the teachers' ratings of the students' scholastic competence, social acceptance, athletic competence, physical appearance, and conduct/behavior exceed .9 for each attribute for both the first and the second times of measurement. In addition, test-retest correlations across these two times of measurement were .61, .69, .70, .83, and .68, for the five attributes, respectively.

Parents' Ratings of Adolescent Behavior — The Conners' Behavioral Rating Scale (CBRS). To assess parents' views of their children's behaviors and of the problems they may have in relating to their child as a consequence of his or her behavioral characteristics, we used 54 of the original 73 items found in Conners' (1970) behavior problem checklist. Items dealing with topics which were not possible to use with our sample, e.g., items dealing with sexuality, were deleted, and this was the basis for the reduction of items from 73 to 54. Parents were asked to rate each item on a four-point scale with response alternatives ranging from "1" -

"not at all present" to "4" - "very much present". Representative items are "awakens at night," "clings to parents or other adults," and "steals from parents." The mean score across all items formed our index of a child's problematic behavior/ relations with parents.

Conners (1970) reported a correlation of .85 between mothers and fathers in regard to their total item scores. In the PEATS, an internal consistency coefficient (Cronbach alpha) of .91 for the 54 total-item pool was found for the second time of testing.

Grade Point Averages (GPA). Grade point averages were constructed for subjects in the following manner: The subjects' grades were photocopied from school transcripts. These transcripts included grades for the following general subject areas: mathematics, science, reading, language, social studies, and spelling. Grades in these subject areas were obtained for the first through sixth grades. Three types of grade point averages (GPA's) were computed from raw grade scores: science GPA, non-science GPA, and total GPA. Science GPA was constructed from science and mathematics grades. Non-science GPA was constructed from reading, language, social studies, and spelling grades. Total GPA was constructed from science and non-science GPA's. Grades were coded on a scale of one through five, with five being the highest score. Non-numeric grades were recoded to match the five-point grading scale.

Academic Aptitude (IQ). Academic aptitude was measured using the Short Form Test of Academic Aptitude (SFTAA), developed by CTB/McGraw-Hill in 1970. The SFTAA is composed of a series of academic aptitude tests at five different levels. It is intended for students in grades 1.5 through 12. There are four separately-timed subtests at each level: Vocabulary,

Analogies, Sequences, and Memory. Students receive results as raw scores, IQ scores, and national percentile averages for Language, Non-Language, and Total Battery. Available psychometric information (CTB/McGraw-Hill, 1970) supports the reliability and validity of this instrument. Kuder-Richardson 20 (KR20) reliabilities across grade levels and content areas measured in the SFTAA cluster around 0.88. Test-retest reliabilities across the grade levels of relevance within the PEATS project range from 0.82 to 0.95. The validity of the SFTAA has been established through concurrent relations with other measures of achievement and aptitude. Correlations with California Achievement Test Reading, Mathematics, and Language scores cluster around 0.70.

Predictions and analyses

Based on the preceding review of the literature, we conducted analyses which would determine the predictive power of the variables of mother's role satisfaction and role difficulty, as well as the variables related to her employment per se. Accordingly, in a series of stepwise multiple regression analyses we appraised how the variables of: (a) Maternal employment (not employed, employed part-time, employed full time), at each of four child age levels (infancy - ages 0-2; preschool - ages 2-5; early childhood - ages 5-10; early adolescence - ages 10 to the present); (b) Maternal role satisfaction, role difficulty and the mother's perception of her husband's satisfaction with her role; and (c) Division of labor for household chores and child care and the mother's satisfaction with that division of labor, accounted for the variation in early adolescents': self-perceptions; teacher and parent ratings; and school grades and IQ scores. To determine if sex differences were present, sex was included as a predictor in each set of analyses (males were coded as 1, and females were coded as 0).

Table 1 indicates the set of 12 predictors used in the stepwise analyses. Because of missing data and the concern with the subject: variable ratio, we could not use all 12 variables in the same analysis. We therefore formed conceptually-based groups of predictors and outcomes for our analyses. These three groups are presented in Table 2. As can be seen in Table 2, the first group of analyses was an attempt to examine the effect of timing of mother's employment (or her work history) on the child's academic achievement, perceived competence and behavioral problems at various points in the child's development. This set of multiple regression

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Insert Tables 1 and 2 About Here

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analyses involved five predictors, predicting each of 15 outcome variables. The second set of analyses used mothers work status from school age on as well as role difficulty and satisfaction variables to predict academic achievement in grade school, and perceived competence and behavior problems during sixth grade. These analyses involved six variables predicting each of 11 outcomes. The final set of analyses used division of labor for child care and household help, mother's role satisfaction and her perception of her husband's satisfaction with her role to predict the child's current academic achievement, perceived competence, and problem behaviors. These analyses used five of the variables to predict nine of the outcome variables. Thus, a total of 35 multiple regression analyses were done.

We hypothesized that the variables related to maternal role satisfaction, role difficulty, and division of labor would account for more variance in the child outcomes than would the maternal employment status variables.

RESULTS

Table 3 summarizes the significant findings from the three sets of multiple regression analyses. As can be seen in Table 3, most of the findings were not significant. However, several of the predicted relationships did emerge. A total of nine of the 35 analyses or 26%, were significant. First, maternal employment status at ages 2-5 (MES/2-5)

Insert Table 3 About Here

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significantly predicted grade point average in first grade (GPA1) accounting for 9% of the variance. This finding indicates that the more mothers worked during that time, the lower was the child's GPA. In addition, grade point average in second grade (GPA2) was significantly predicted by maternal employment status at ages 0-2 (MES/0-2), with more work being associated with lower GPAs. Maternal work status accounted for 5% of the variance in the outcome, with an additional 5% of the variance being accounted for by the sex of the child. Females obtained higher GPAs than males. Sex of child also significantly contributed to the outcomes of teacher-rated scholastic competence (TBRS/SC) and teacher-rated conduct/behavior (TBRS/CB) indicating that females were rated by teachers as more socially accepted and having fewer conduct problems. In these two outcomes, sex of child accounted for 4% and 10% of the variance, respectively.

In the second set of analyses, mother's satisfaction with child care significantly predicted two of the outcomes: GPA in grade 6 and self-rated academic competence, accounting for 4% and 14% of the variance, respectively. This finding indicated that the more the mother was satisfied with the current child care arrangements, the higher was her child's 6th grade GPA and self-rated academic competence. Mother's role difficulty significantly predicted the child's score on the CBRS. This result indicated that the higher her role difficulty, the more problems the mother perceived her child to have at home. Four percent of the variance was accounted for in this analysis.

In the final set of multiple regression analyses, the division of labor for child care and housework significantly predicted IQ scores in grade 6, indicating that the more the mother was involved in child care but the less she was involved in housework, the higher was her child's 6th grade IQ score. These two variables each contributed six percent of the variance to the outcome for a total of twelve percent. Finally, division of labor for housework again predicted self-rated scholastic competence. This result indicated that the less the mother was involved in housework, the higher her child rated him/herself on scholastic competence. This variable accounted for six percent of the variance.

In sum, for the nine significantly predicted outcome variables, maternal and contextual variables were the significant predictors for five of the variables. In turn, maternal employment status and sex of the child each predicted only two of the outcome variables.

DISCUSSION

Even though most of the results of this study were insignificant, enough of the predictions were borne out by the data to warrant attention.

That is, the results of the present study suggest maternal role satisfaction and role difficulty have more predictive power than maternal employment status per se in selected circumstances. Maternal employment status did have some influences on first and second grade GPA scores. The grade point average differences between the employed full-time, employed part-time, and non-employed groups ranged only from two-tenths to six-tenths of a point. Other analyses revealed that maternal employment status was not related to the early adolescent outcomes, but maternal role difficulty did predict the parents' ratings of the subjects behavior problems in the home. Finally, mothers reports of division of labor for housework and child care and her satisfaction with that division of labor were related to the child's actual 6th grade GPA and IQ score and to his/her self-rated scholastic competence.

Therefore, we obtained some support for the notion that it is a mother's role difficulty and satisfaction rather than her employment status which has implications for child outcomes. However, our findings that early maternal employment status was linked to early GPA (first and second grade) should not be ignored. It may be that during these early years of school adjustments, the mothers absence from the home contributes to a lower GPA. However, this source of influence seems to disappear later on in the child's development--we do not find that early maternal employment is related to lower GPAs in grades 3-6 in this sample.

The finding that maternal employment status was predictive of child outcomes in this study needs qualification. Maternal employment in this sample is most likely a marker of other variables present in the home. For example, in a lower-middle class group like this one, the mother is most likely working out of financial need rather than personal fulfillment. In

addition to this, the likelihood that she is in a low-prestige job may contribute to both lowered role satisfaction and less time to spend with her child. The money she earns is probably spent on essentials and not luxuries like household help. Therefore, the employed mother in this sample probably spends her free time doing housework. This may contribute to her role strain and again decrease the amount of time she spends with her child. Thus, for this sample, maternal employment may be representative of fewer (or lower quality) mother-child interactions due to role strain and dissatisfaction. Our finding that mothers who were involved more in child care but less in housework had children who rated themselves higher on scholastic competence and also had higher 6th grade IQ scores lends indirect support to this "process of influence" model. Children whose mothers are satisfied with their role may enjoy more quality interactions with their child, who, in turn, fares much better scholastically. Thus, it is important to understand that maternal employment may be merely a marker variable of several other factors, all of which may produce lowered achievement in the child, especially at younger ages.

In line with this, perhaps the "process of influence" model involving mother-child interactions influenced by maternal employment is operating to a more potent greater degree at younger ages when children are more dependent on their mothers. More time spent with the child would allow for the mother's satisfaction/ dissatisfaction to more strongly color her interactions with her child and therefore influence the child's development. Our idea of the role satisfaction-child outcome link needs to be explored further in samples of males and females at different ages. Beyond this, tests of models which evaluate the influences of mother's role satisfaction on mother-child interaction and subsequent child outcomes are greatly needed.

There are some limitations of the present study which should be noted. First, we only were able to obtain measures of maternal satisfaction pertinent to the child's adolescence. It would have been enlightening to look at maternal role satisfaction and role difficulty as they existed earlier in the child's life. This could have perhaps clarified further the direct link from maternal employment status to child GPA's in grades 1 and 2, by showing, as we did in adolescence, that role satisfaction and role difficulty and not maternal employment per se, were related to the child's outcomes. Ideally, one needs to longitudinally assess the influences of these variables on each other over time to see if changes in one produces changes in others, and to assess the potential bidirectional relationships that may exist. For example, how well a child is doing in school is likely to influence the mother's overall satisfaction level. Analysis of succeeding waves of data on this sample will examine these relationships.

Second, the multicollinearity present in the predictor variables could have influenced our results. In addition, many other factors could be influencing the mothers satisfaction and the child outcomes. For example, the father's satisfaction with the mother's role, marital status and quality, number of children, mood, etc., could all influence maternal satisfaction, and also affect child outcomes. Such influences need to be evaluated across different age ranges, since their effects on child outcomes are likely to change over the course of the child's development.

Finally, we did not provide data to fully test the "process" model we presume to be operating, that is, we did not have measures of mother-child interaction. Therefore, we cannot be sure that the relationships we

found—wherein mother's role difficulty influenced child outcomes—were mediated by the quality of the mother-child relationship. Also ignored were the quality of peer and family relationships, which both are very important in early adolescence, and could be contributing to the child's adjustment outcomes.

Even with its limitations, the present study does contribute to our understanding of the processes by which maternal employment status, maternal role difficulty and satisfaction, parent-child interactions, and child outcomes are linked. The future availability of subsequent waves of data from the PEATS longitudinal study will facilitate further examination of these complex relationships.

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Table 1

Summary of Predictor and Outcome Variables

Predictor Variables	Outcome Variables
Maternal Employment Status: 0 - 2 years (MES/0 - 2)	CBRS
Maternal Employment Status: 2 - 5 years (MES/2 - 5)	IQ Score - Grade 3
Maternal Employment Status: 5 - 10 years (MES/5 - 10)	IQ Score - Grade 6
Maternal Employment Status: 10 years & older (MES/10)	GPA - Grade 1
Maternal Role Satisfaction (MRS)	GPA - Grade 2
Maternal Role Difficulty (MRD)	GPA - Grade 3
Division of Labor for Household Chores	GPA - Grade 4
Division of Labor for Child Care	GPA - Grade 5
Satisfaction with Division of Labor for Household Chores	GPA - Grade 6
	SPP/CB
Satisfaction with Division of Labor for Child Care	SPP/SC
Sex of Child	SPP/SA
Maternal Perception of Husband's Satisfaction with her Role	TBRS/CB
	TBRS/SC
	TBRS/SA

Table 2

Predictor and Outcome Variables Used in Each Set of Multiple Regression Analyses

Predictor Set	Outcomes
1. Sex of Child	CBRS
MES/0 - 2	IQ Score - Grade 3
MES/2 - 5	IQ Score - Grade 6
MES/5 - 10	GPA - Grade 1
MES/10	GPA - Grade 2
	GPA - Grade 3
	GPA - Grade 4
	GPA - Grade 5
	GPA - Grade 6
	SPP/CB
	SPP/SC
	SPP/SA
	TBRS/CB
	TBRS/SC
	TBRS/SA

Table 2 (continued)

Predictor and Outcome Variables Used in Each Set of Multiple Regression Analyses

Predictor Set	Outcomes
2. Sex of Child	CBRS
MES/5 - 10	GPA - Grade 3
MES/10	GPA - Grade 4
MRD	GPA - Grade 5
Mother's Satisfaction with Child Care	GPA - Grade 6
Mother's Satisfaction with Household Help	SPP/CB
	SPP/SC
	SPP/SA
	TBRS/CB
	TBRS/SC
	TBRS/SA

Table 2 (continued)

Predictor and Outcome Variables Used in Each Set of Multiple Regression Analyses

Predictor Set	Outcomes
3. Sex of Child	CBRS
Division of Labor for Child Care	IQ Score: Grade 6
Division of Labor for Household Chores	GPA - Grade 6
Maternal Role Satisfaction	SPP/CB
Husband's Satisfaction with Mother's Role	SPP/SC
	SPP/SA
	TBRS/CB
	TBRS/SC
	TBRS/SA

Table 3

Summary of Results from the Three Sets of Multiple Regression Analyses

Significantly Predicted Outcomes	Predictor(s)	Direction	Total R^2	F	P value
GPA - Grade 1 (N=95)	MES/2 - 5	-	.09	10.53	.001
GPA - Grade 2 (N=97)	MES/0 - 2	-	.05		
	Sex		.10	5.39	.006
TBRS/CB (N=105)	Sex	-	.10	11.91	.001
TBRS/SA (N=105)	Sex	-	.04	4.18	.04

Table 3 (continued)

Summary of Results from the Three Sets of Multiple Regression Analyses

Significantly Predicted Outcomes	Predictor(s)	Direction	Total R^2	F	P value
IQ Score - Grade 6 (N=69)	Division of Labor for Child Care	+			
	Division of Labor for Housework	-	.12	4.78	.01
SPP/SC (N=71)	Division of Labor for Housework	-	.06	4.54	.03
GPA - Grade 6 (N=95)	Mother's Satisfaction with Child Care	+	.04	4.22	.04
SPP/SC (N=97)	Mother's Satisfaction with Child Care	+	.14	16.21	.001
CBRS (N=87)	MRD	+	.04	4.65	.03